

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 129156

67

ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PRS-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 /014 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:EUR/RPM:WTSHINN, JR.

APPROVED BY:EUR/RPM:WTSHINN, JR.

S/PRS:JTRATTNER(BY PHONE)

----- 076490

O 260026Z MAY 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 129156

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

FOLLOWING REPEAT SECTO 13056 ACTION SECSTATE INFO USIA WASHDC
21 MAY 76.

QUOTE

UNCLAS SECTO 13056

DEPT PASS ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE, NSC FOR MR.
SCOWCROFT AND WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. NESSEN

FOR S/PRS

USIA FOR IPS/PE, IPS/PO, IBS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: NO, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: TRANSCRIPT SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN OSLO MAY 21

FOLLOWING IS THE TRANSCRIPT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S PRESS
CONFERENCE AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SPRING NATO MINISTERIAL
MEETING IN OSLO MAY 21:

THE SECRETARY: LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. I WILL MAKE NO
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 129156

OPENING STATEMENT. I WILL SAY TWO THINGS. FIRST, I WANT
TO COMMENT ABOUT SOME PRESS REPORTS THAT I HAVE SEEN, THAT
ATTEMPT TO WIN THE PULITZER PRIZE FOR FICTION, IN PARTICULAR,
THAT I EXPRESSED SOME DOUBTS ABOUT PRESIDENT FORD'S CAMPAGIN

RHETORIC. I WANT TO MAKE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT WHATEVER FOREIGN POLICY PRONOUNCEMENTS ARE MADE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE DONE IN COMPLETE HARMONY WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION. WHEN OCCASIONALLY I AM ASKED QUESTIONS ABOUT SOME OF THE MORE EXTREME STATEMENTS THAT MAY BE MADE BY SOME OF THE CANDIDATES, MY REPLY APPLIES TO EXTREME STATEMENT BY OTHER CANDIDATES AND NEVER BY OUR OWN ADMINISTRATION. I SUPPOSE ONE SHOULD TAKE THIS FOR GRANTED, BUT I SIMPLY WANT TO MAKE THAT POINT CLEAR.

SECOND, WITH RESPECT TO THE NATO MEETING, I THOUGHT IT WAS AN EXTREMELY HARMONIOUS ONE IN WHICH THE ASSESSMENT OF THE MINISTERS WITH RESPECT TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS, WITH RESPECT TO AFRICA, AND WITH RESPECT TO OTHER ISSUES THAT WERE DISCUSSED, WERE AS CLOSE TO UNANIMOUS AS I HAVE SEEN THEM. AND IN WHICH THE CONVICTION EXISTED THAT NATO IS A GOING CONCERN -- THAT THE MILITARY EQUILIBRIUM MUST BE MAINTAINED -- AND THAT THE WEST HAS THE CAPABILITIES AND THE DETERMINATION TO PRESERVE ITS SECURITY AND TO MAINTAIN ITS VALUES. AND NOW I'LL BE GLAD TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS.

QUESTION: IN VIEW OF SOME OF THE CAMPAGIN STATEMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE UNITED STATES, HAVE YOU FOUND ANY SERIOUS CONCERN AMONG YOUR NATO COLLEAGUES ABOUT THE DIRECTION AND CONSTANCY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY?

THE SECRETARY: I DON'T THINK BASICALLY THAT IT'S APPROPRIATE FOR ME TO COMMENT ON THE AMERICAN CAMPAIGN WHILE I'M ABROAD. I BELIEVE THAT OUR ALLIES UNDERSTAND THAT EVERY FOUR YEARS WE ARE SEIZED BY A FEVER THAT LEADS TO VERY EXALTED STATEMENTS. BUT THEY WILL ALSO REMEMBER THE CONSTANCY OF AMERICAN POLICY THROUGHOUT THIRTY YEARS OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD. I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT OUR ALLIES UNDERSTAND THAT THE MAIN LINES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY ENJOY WIDE SUPPORT AMONG THE AMERICAN

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 129156

PUBLIC AND THAT THIS WILL REMAIN TRUE AS IT HAS BEEN IN THE PAST.

QUESTION: WHY DIDN'T YOU PROPOSE THIS YEAR A LINK BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO. IS IT BECAUSE YOU HAVE INVOKED A MILITARY AGREEMENT, BILATERAL, BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN?

THE SECRETARY: NO. WE HAVE NEVER ASKED FOR A SPECIFIC DECISION ON THIS SUBJECT EITHER LAST YEAR OR THIS YEAR. OUR VIEW HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THAT SPAIN SHOULD BE BROUGHT INTO WESTERN INSTITUTIONS AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE. OUR ALLIES KNOW THESE VIEWS, AND WE BELIEVE THAT AS THE

POLITICAL EVOLUTION IN SPAIN DEVELOPS THE CONDITIONS FOR CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN AND OUR ALLIES AND THE ALLIANCE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WILL BE DEVELOPED.

QUESTION: CAN YOU TELL ME, SIR, IF YOU ARE CONCERNED WITH THE PROSPECT OF THE ALLIANCE BEING WEAKENED BY COMMUNISTS COMING INTO GOVERNMENT IN ITALY AFTER NEXT MONTH'S ELECTIONS?

THE SECRETARY: I THINK THAT IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD IN EUROPE WHAT IS NOT ALWAYS MADE CLEAR, THAT ALMOST ALL OF THE STATEMENTS THAT ARE WTTGPBQTED TO ME WITH RESPECT TO COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENTS EITHER COMES FROM CLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS WHICH WERE NOT WRITTEN FOR PUBLICATION BUT WHICH WERE LEAKED TOTHE PRESS, OR IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS. BUT I HAVE NOW LEARNED NOT TO RESPOND TO EVERY QUESTION. I HAVE STATED OUR VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT, AND I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANYTHING I CAN ADD.

QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE QUESTION ABOUT SALE OF LONG-RANGE PATROL AIRCRAFT TO CANADA.)

THE SECRETARY: MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THIS PARTICULAR DEAL BROKE DOWN ON FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THAT DISCUSSIONS ARE CONTINUING BETWEEN THE CANADIAN AND U.S. GOVERNMENT, AND POSSIBLY BETWEEN THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT AND OTHER COMPANIES, THAT WOULD MAKE NEW FINANCING UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 129156

POSSIBLE. SO UNTIL THESE DISCUSSIONS ARE CONCLUDED, I DON'T WANT TO DRAW ANY CONCLUSION.

QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE)

THE SECRETARY: WELL THE U.S. GOVERNMENT INTEREST IS IN THE ANTI-SUBMARINE CAPABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE. IN THIS SENSE WE HAVE FAVORED THIS DEAL, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT A USEFUL ARRANGEMENT CAN BE WORKED OUT WITH THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT.
V

QUESTION: WE UNDERSTAND THAT AFRICA HAS BEEN DISCUSSED. WHAT IS NATO'S PROBLEM IN AFRICA?

THE SECRETARY: NATO AS AN INSTITUTION DOES NOT TAKE A POSITION ON AFRICA. BUT IT IS CUSTOMARY IN NATO THAT MINISTERS WHO HAVE ENGAGED IN FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES REPORT TO THEIR COLLEAGUES SINCE EVENTS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD CAN AFFECT THE SECURITY OR PROGRESS OF NATO COUNTRIES. IT WAS IN THIS SPIRIT THAT THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY REPORTED ON HIS TRIP TO

CHINA. I REPORTED ON MY TRIP TO AFRICA AND ON THE AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA. WE DID NOT ASK NATO AS AN INSTITUTION TO TAKE A POSITION WITH RESPECT TO AFRICA. NOR WILL NATO AS AN INSTITUTION GET INVOLVED. SEVERAL MEMBER STATES OF NATO HAVE HISTORIC RELATIONSHIPS WITH CERTAIN AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AND THEY MAY WANT TO COORDINATE THEIR EFFORTS. I HAVE ALREADY PUBLICLY EXPRESSED OUR SUPPORT FOR THE PROPOSAL OF THE FRENCH PRESIDENT. BUT THIS IS NOT WITHIN A NATO FRAMEWORK. FOR THIS, NEW INSTITUTIONS OR NEW MECHANISMS OF COORDINATION WILL HAVE TO BE CREATED. IT IS NOT A NATO MATTER.

QUESTION: WHILE NOT WANTING TO COMMENT ANY FURTHER ABOUT THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS, POSSIBLY RAISED BY COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN NATO-MEMBER GOVERNMENTS, CAN YOU SAY WHETHER AS A RESULT OF INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS YOU'VE HAD HERE IN THE LAST COUPLE OF DAYS, THERE IS NOW A PREPARED NATO RESPONSE TO SUCH AN EVENTUALITY?
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 129156

THE SECRETARY: WE HAVE TAKEN THE VIEW, AND I BELIEVE ALL OF OUR COLLEAGUES SHARE IT, THAT NATO AS AN INSTITUTION CANNOT DEAL WITH A QUESTION OF DOMESTIC JURISDICTION OF OTHER COUNTRIES. INDIVIDUAL NATO MEMBERS CAN DRAW THEIR OWN CONCLUSIONS AFTER CERTAIN EVENTS HAVE OCCURRED WITH RESPECT TO THEIR OWN POLICIES. BUT NO ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE TO DEVELOP A CONSENSUS AND IT WAS NOT A TOPIC OF CONVERSATION. SO I CANNOT ADVANCE THE MATTER BEYOND WHERE IT WAS WHEN I GOT HERE.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, YOU EXPLAINED, I BELIEVE, THAT PLANS FOR THE INCREASE OF THE PRESENT SOVIET FORCE WERE THE RESULT OF DEFENSE PLANS WHICH WERE DECIDED UPON FIVE OR TEN YEARS AGO. HAVE YOU REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE PLANS MADE NOW ARE MORE FAVORABLE, LESS DISQUIETING IF YOU LIKE, THAN THOSE WHICH PRECEDED THEM?

THE SECRETARY: THE POINT THAT I WAS MAKING IS THAT THE MILITARY FORCES THAT EXIST IN ANY ONE YEAR ARE THE RESULT OF DECISIONS THAT ARE MADE AT LEAST FIVE AND PROBABLY TEN YEARS PREVIOUSLY. AND THIS IS TRUE ON BOTH SIDES. THEREFORE, THE SOVIET FORCES THAT EXIST TODAY REFLECT ESSENTIALLY DECISIONS OF THE LATE NINETEEN-SIXTIES AND REPRESENT A LONG-TERM TREND. THERE IS NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE CURRENT DECISIONS ARE ANY DIFFERENT FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE LATE NINETEEN-SIXTIES. I CALLED ATTENTION TO THE NECESSITY IN THE WEST TO PLAN A LONG-TERM MILITARY PROGRAM THAT CAN PREVENT THE BALANCE OF POWER BEING TURNED AGAINST US -- AND THE NECESSITY OF DOING THIS ON A LONG-TERM BASIS -- AND NOT ON A YEAR-TO-YEAR

BASIS, BECAUSE IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO ASSESS ON A YEAR-TO-YEAR BASIS WHAT THE PRECISE DECISIONS ARE. SO, THIS WAS THE BASIC THRUST, NOT TO IMPLY THAT CURRENT DECISIONS ARE DIFFERENT. IN FACT, OUR ASSESSMENT IS THAT SOVIET STRENGTH IS LIKELY TO GROW -- THAT THEREFORE LARGER EFFORTS BY NATO ARE NECESSARY, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF CONVENTIONAL AND TACTICAL FORCES.

QUESTION: I UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE BEEN MEETING WITH UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 129156

THE BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER THIS MORNING, MR. CROSLAND. DID YOU DISCUSS THE FISHING DISPUTE BETWEEN ICELAND AND BRITAIN?

THE SECRETARY: THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY BROUGHT ME UP TO DATE ON HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE ICELANDIC FOREIGN MINISTER. AND, I ALSO HAD A BRIEF WORD WITH THE ICELANDIC FOREIGN MINISTER. THE UNITED STATES IS OF COURSE INTENSELY INTERESTED IN A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION OF THE DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO CLOSE FRIENDS, AND WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT PROGRESS WILL BE MADE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ICELAND WHILE THEY ARE IN OSLO.

QUESTION: COULD YOU PLEASE EXPLAIN WHY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT COULDN'T LEASE OR LEND ICELAND PATROL BOATS, ONE OR TWO TO THE ICELANDIC GOVERNMENT?

THE SECRETARY: FIRST -- ABOVE ALL -- WE HAVE NOT TAKEN AN OFFICIAL POSITION ON THIS MATTER. WE HAVEN'T BEEN ASKED TO TAKE AN OFFICIAL POSITION ON THIS MATTER. I'VE SEEN MANY PRESS REPORTS ON THE SUBJECT. BUT UP TO NOW WE HAVE NOT TAKEN AN OFFICIAL POSITION.

QUESTION: COULD YOU SAY SOMETHING ABOUT THE TIMETABLE FOR A SECOND SALT AGREEMENT. WHOSE IS THAT NEXT MOVE? (INAUDIBLE)

THE SECRETARY: WHAT IS THE QUESTION?

QUESTION: THE QUESTION IS COULD YOU SAY SOMETHING ABOUT THE TIMETABLE FOR A SECOND SALT AGREEMENT. WHOM DOES THE NEXT MOVE HAVE TO COME FROM AND WHEN DO YOU EXPECT IT?

THE SECRETARY: WELL, OF COURSE, THE TIMETABLE DOES NOT DEPEND ENTIRELY ON US. THERE ARE A CERTAIN NUMBER OF ISSUES THAT REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED -- WHAT TYPES OF WEAPONS ARE TO BE INCLUDED IN A SALT AGREEMENT -- AND HOW THEY ARE TO BE CONTROLLED IF THEY ARE TO BE INCLUDED -- AND WHAT THEIR LIMITATIONS ARE IF THEY ARE NOT TO BE

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 129156

INCLUDED. THE SOVIET UNION GAVE US THEIR CONSIDERATIONS SOME WEEKS AGO. WE ARE NOW STUDYING THEM, AND WE WILL SUBMIT A REPLY IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. I WOULD NOT WANT TO GIVE A TIMETABLE. I WOULD SAY THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. THE REMAINING ISSUES ARE RELATIVELY FEW IN NUMBER, BUT THEY ARE IMPORTANT. BUT I WOULD NOT WANT TO GIVE A TIMETABLE.

QUESTION: ON THE ITALIAN PROBLEM ONCE AGAIN, IF YOU DON'T MIND. YOU SAID BEFORE THAT EACH COUNTRY, OF COURSE, HAS THE RIGHT TO TAKE ITS OWN PREPARATIONS FOR CERTAIN OCCASIONS WHICH MIGHT OCCUR, AND YOU SAID ALSO THAT YOU HAVE NOT MADE ANY CONCRETE NATO PLANS TO THIS PROBLEM. DOES THAT MEAN YOU HAVE HAD PROBLEMS CONVINCING THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OF CERTAIN STANDPOINTS.

F

THE SECRETARY: WE HAVE NOT MADE ANY EFFORT AT THE NATO MEETING TO ACHIEVE A COMMON POSITION OR TO CONVINCE ANY OTHER COUNTRIES. OUR OWN POSITION IS WELL KNOWN. THERE IS NO NEED TO TAKE ANY FURTHER DECISIONS; AND NO EFFORT WAS MADE. THERE WAS NO FAILURE TO ACHIEVE ANY AGREEMENT BECAUSE NO EFFORT WAS MADE.

QUESTION: THERE WERE SOME REPORTS THIS MORNING IN THE PRESS STATING THAT, WHILE YOU WERE SPEAKING LAST NIGHT IN THE NATO MEETING, YOU WERE INTERRUPTED BY SOMEBODY BECAUSE APPARENTLY YOU WERE DIGRESSING FROM THE PROBLEMS CONSIDERED. COULD YOU SAY IF THERE IS ANY TRUTH IN SUCH STATEMENTS?

THE SECRETARY: APART FROM THE TECHNICAL IMPOSSIBILITY OF INTERRUPTING A HARVARD PROFESSOR WHEN HE IS IN MID-FLIGHT (LAUGHTER), THIS IS ONE OF THOSE STORIES THAT REFLECT THE FERTILE IMAGINATION OF SOME JOURNALISTS. NOTHING LIKE THIS -- OR REMOTELY LIKE THIS -- HAPPEND. I WAS NOT INTERRUPTED FOR THAT OR ANY OTHER REASON, AND I DIDN'T RAISE THAT SUBJECT.

QUESTION: HAVE THESE TWO DAYS OF DETAILED DISCUSSIONS

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 129156

HERE ON NATO IN ANY WAY AFFECTED YOUR OWN PERSONAL PLANS ABOUT YOUR FUTURE?

THE SECRETARY: MY OWN PERSONAL PLANS ARE A MATTER OF INTENSE INTEREST TO MANY PEOPLE IN THIS POLITICAL YEAR.

I HAVE STATED MY VIEWS. I AM NOT TAKING A POLL AMONG MY COLLEAGUES ABOUT THEIR VIEWS. IT IS MY RESPONSIBILITY TO TRY TO CONDUCT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IS GEARED TO THE PERMANENT INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OUR FRIENDS. OUR NATO INTERESTS HAVE BEEN PURSUED SINCE THE FOUNDING OF NATO. THEY HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH OUR PRIMARY CAMPAIGN. THEY ARE INDEPENDENT OF ANY PBASONALITIES. THEY'VE BEEN CARRIED OUT BY EVERY SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD. MY OWN PLANS HAVE ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO DO WITH THESE MEETINGS. THIS MEETING WAS CONDUCTED IN A SPIRIT OF GREAT CORDIALITY COMMON PURPOSES, AND COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE WORLD SITUATION. THIS COMMON UNDERSTANDING IS NOT DUE TO INDIVIDUALS. IT REFLECTS THE PERMANENT INTERESTS OF OUR COUNTRIES AND SHOULD NOT BE SEEN IN PERSONAL TERMS.

QUESTION: YOU HAVE STARTED A MINI-DIPLOMACY IN THE HOTEL SCANDINAVIA BETWEEN THE TURKS AND THE GREEKS. YOU SAW THE GREEK MINISTER, THEN THE TURKISH MINISTER. YOU ARE GOING TO SEE BOTH OF THESE MINISTERS AGAIN. DO YOU THINK THAT A SOLUTION WILL BE FOUND TO THIS DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO NATO ALLIES?

THE SECRETARY: TURKEY AND GREECE HAVE MANAGED TO EXIST FOR SEVERAL HUNDRED YEARS WITHOUT ANY OVERWHELMING SUCCESS IN SOLVING ALL OF THEIR PROBLEMS. AND WHILE NO ONE HAS EVER ACCUSED ME OF UNDERESTIMATING MY ABILITIES (LAUGHTER), I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT I WILL NECESSARILY INTERRUPT THIS HISTORICAL PATTERN (LAUGHTER) IN TWO BREAKFAST MEETINGS. WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO URGE ON BOTH PARTIES THE IMPORTANCE OF SETTTLING THEIR DIFFERENCES. WE BELIEVE IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF WESTERN DEFENSE, AND IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE COMMUNITIES INVOLVED. WE ARE TRYING TO FACILITATE SOME OF THE PROCEDURAL AND SUB-UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 129156

STANTIVE ISSUES, BUT THE SITUATION IS EXTREMELY COMPLICATED AND IT IS OVERLAID BY DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS IN BOTH COUNTRIES. WE WILL DO OUR BEST. WE HOPE THAT WHEN THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET TOMORROW THAT SOME PROGRESS WILL BE MADE. BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE THEY WILL ANNOUNCE THE FINAL SOLUTION OF ALL ISSUES BETWEEN GREEKS AND TURKS TOMORROW.

QUESTION: WHEN DO YOU THINK THAT THE NEW TURKISH-AMERICAN GREEMENT WILL BE SENT TO THE CONGRESS.

THE SECRETARY: WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS. VERY SOON.

QUESTION: THERE ARE TIMES WHEN IT SEEMS THAT THE

FOREIGN POLICY THAT YOU ARE CONDUCTING AND THE DOMESTIC DEBATE IN THE UNITED STATES, PARTICULARLY AS IT COMES FROM THE WHITE HOUSE, ARE NOT EXACTLY THE SAME. DO YOU FEEL THAT AT ANY TIME YOU WERE BEING UNDERCUT BY THE WHITE HOUSE?

THE SECRETARY: ABSOLUTELY NOT. FIRST OF ALL, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WHAT IS BEING SAID BY THE WHITE HOUSE DIFFERS FROM THE FOREIGN POLICY THAT IS BEING CONDUCTED SINCE THE FUNDAMENTAL DECISIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY ARE TAKEN BY THE PRESIDENT. AND THERE IS COMPLETE UNANIMITY. THERE IS NO FEELING OF BEING UNDERCUT, QUITE THE CONTRARY. I SIMPLY DON'T AGREE WITH YOUR BASIC PROPOSITION.

QUESTION: WHAT WERE THE DIFFERENCES ON AFRICA?

THE SECRETARY: THERE WERE ABSOLUTELY NO DIFFERENCES ON AFRICA BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE AND MYSELF. BEFORE I WENT TO AFRICA I WENT OVER ALL THE POINTS THAT WERE GOING TO BE MADE, ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, IN GREAT DETAIL WITH THE PRESIDENT. THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF DIRECTED CERTAIN LINES TO BE TAKEN. I BRIEFED, AT THE REQUEST OF THE PRESIDENT, BOTH THE CABINET AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, AND I STATED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE BEFORE I WENT TO AFRICA THE MAIN LINES OF WHAT I WAS GOING TO DO THERE. THIS DOESN'T MEAN THAT THERE MAY NOT BE THIS OR THAT PERSON WHO HAS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 129156

NOTHING TO DO WITH FOREIGN POLICY WHO MAY BE MUMBLING SOMETHING IN THE CORRIDORS OF THE WHITE HOUSE. BUT I'M TALKING ABOUT THE PRESIDENT, ABOUT ALL THOSE OFFICIALS WHO HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH FOREIGN POLICY.

THERE HAS BEEN COMPLETE UNANIMITY, AND THERE IS NO INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY BEING CONDUCTED. EVERY INITIATIVE THAT IS BEING TAKEN IS DISCUSSED IN FULL DETAIL AND ORDERED BY THE PRESIDENT.

QUESTION: THE AGREEMENTS YOU HAVE SIGNED WITH SPAIN AND WITH TURKEY AND GREECE ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE ITALIAN SITUATION ON THE OTHER HAND, GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE UNITED STATES IS MORE INTERESTED IN FOLLOWING DEFENSE POLICY FOR THE WEST IN A BILATERAL WAY THAN IN THE FRAMEWORK OF NATO. WHAT'S YOUR IMPRESSION?

THE SECRETARY: WE BELIEVE VERY STRONGLY THAT THE COHESION OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE IS THE ABSOLUTELY FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. WITH RESPECT TO THE DEFENSE AGREEMENTS WITH SPAIN, GREECE AND TURKEY -- IN EACH OF THESE CASES THERE HAVE BEEN SPECIAL CONDITIONS WHICH REQUIRED A BILATERAL

SOLUTION. ALL OF THIS HAS BEEN FULLY DISCUSSED WITH OUR ALLIES AND I BELIEVE HAS THEIR GENERAL AGREEMENT, AS WAS REFLECTED WITH RESPECT TO GREECE AND TURKEY IN THE COMMUNIQUE TODAY. I'LL TAKE TWO MORE QUESTIONS.

QUESTION: THIS WILL AGAIN BE ON ITALIAN COMMUNISM, BUT NOT TO ASK YOUR SHORT-TERM JUDGEMENT ON THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A HARVARD PROFESSOR, HOW WOULD YOU JUDGE IN GLOBAL TERMS THE POSSIBLE EMERGING OF A MODEL OF COMMUNISM IN WESTERN EUROPE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE WE KNOW, THE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN ALLIES MODEL, AND THE CHINESE MODEL.

THE SECRETARY: I'M AFRAID THAT I CAN BE AN ISSUE IN ONLY ONE ELECTION AT A TIME (LAUGHTER), AND I HAVE TO GIVE PREFERENCE TO MY OWN COUNTRY (LAUGHTER).

QUESTION: YES, BUT I WAS SPEAKING TO THE HARVARD UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 129156

PROFESSOR. YOU ARE AT YOUR OWN UNIVERSITY NOW. YOU ARE NOT AT AN ITALIAN UNIVERSITY NOW.

THE SECRETARY: THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE WHO ARE TRYING TO SPEED MY BECOMING A HARVARD PROFESSOR HERE (LAUGHTER), AND WHEN THAT CONDITION HAS BEEN REACHED I WILL GIVE YOU AN ANSWER WHICH WILL THEN TAKE FIFTY MINUTES. (LAUGHTER).

QUESTION: IS IT TRUE WHAT SOME NEWSPAPERS REPORTED THAT YOU HAVE DECIDED THAT AFTER THE ELECTIONS YOU WILL GIVE UP YOUR POSITION EVEN IF PRESIDENT FORD WINS THE ELECTION.

THE SECRETARY: VERY PRECISELY, MY VIEW ON THAT MATTER IS SOMEWHAT MORE COMPLICATED THAN YOU HAVE JUST EXPRESSED. BUT I BELIEVE THAT HAVING STATED IT I SHOULD NOT REPEAT IT, AND I SHOULD NOW CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY TO THE BEST OF MY ABILITY. I WISH WE WOULD ALL REMEMBER THAT THERE ARE MANY CRITICAL AREAS IN THE WORLD, AND THAT WE CANNOT BE OBSESSED ALL THE TIME WITH THE PERSONAL DECISIONS OF INDIVIDUALS. I HAVE STATED MY VIEW. I WILL NOT SAY ANY MORE ON MY PLANS FOR THE REST OF THIS YEAR.

QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE)...YOU ARE THE SECRETARY OF STATE THROUGHOUT THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION THROUGH NINETEEN EIGHTY?

THE SECRETARY: I THINK MY REPLY SPEAKS FOR ITSELF. IT WAS DESIGNED TO PUT AN END TO THIS DISCUSSION. I THINK THE REPLY IS SELF-EXPLANATORY, AND I WILL SAY

NO MORE ABOUT MY PERSONAL PLANS THAN I HAVE ALREADY
SAID, BUT IT IS NOT TO MEAN THAT I DON'T APPRECIATE
YOUR INTEREST.

QUESTION: MAY I ASK YOU MORE PRECISELY ABOUT SPAIN.
ARE YOU FOR A QUICK ENTRANCE OF SPAIN IN NATO?

THE SECRETARY: I HOPE THAT YOU WILL ALL NOTICE THAT
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 129156

I AM BEING DRAWN INTO ITALIAN DOMESTIC POLITICS AND
SPANISH DOMESTIC POLITICS, AND I'M ALREADY HEAVILY
INVOLVED IN OTHER DOMESTIC POLITICS. I THINK THE
EVOLUTION OF SPAIN TOWARDS INSTITUTIONS MORE COM-
PARABLE TO THOSE OF OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WILL HAVE
A POSITIVE IMPACT ON THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN NATO AND IN
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AND I EXPRESSED THIS VIEW WHEN
I VISITED SPAIN AT THE END OF JANUARY AS WELL.

THANK YOU, MR. SECRETARY.

KISSINGER UNQUOTE
SISCO

UNCLASSIFIED

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 15 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 MAY 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE129156
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JR.
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D760203-0841
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197605109/baaaepdn.tel
Line Count: 514
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 10
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: blochd0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 JUL 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 JUL 2004 by mendozsm>; APPROVED <14 JAN 2005 by blochd0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TRANSCRIPT SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN OSLO MAY 21 FOLLOWING IS THE TRANSCRIPT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S PRESS
TAGS: OVIP, NO, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: ALL NATO CAPITALS
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006